3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

and to mixture with an older strain (24), which is strongest in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and in the Jabal (Turirth-Thimārzgha-Aith 'Arūs), as well as in eastern Aith 'Ammarth and northern Giznāya. This strain, which has probably survived from pre-agricultural times, is without question a very old one and shows a market resemblance to the Afalou crania and skeletal material from Constantine in Algeria and, to a lesser degree, to the Cro-Magnon people of Upper Palaeolithic Europe. The modern representatives of this strain look like Irishmen, with stocky body builds, wide faces (but long heads), snub noses, big teeth, reddish hair, green or light gray eyes, and freckles. I can personally attest that the presence of people of this physical type in the Central Rif is far too frequent to be ignored, and strongly believe that these «Upper Palaeolithic survivors» are far too firmly rooted in their mountain habitat to be accounted for by any invasion within historic times, whether it be factual or fictional. That the Moroccan Berbers are descendants of Goths or Vandals is a myth that is, unfortunately, taking a long time to die; even more unfortunately, I have met Riffians who have come to believe in it themselves.

If you ask an Arab in Tangier or Tetuan what he thinks of Riffiians in general and of Wuryāghlīs in particular, he will tell you that they, especially the latter, are ferocious, treacherous and that for a peseta they would be more than happy to out your throat. In all fairness to the people of Aith Wuryāghil, this seems a very harsh dictum indeed. But at the same time it must be remembered that in the past Wuryāghlī children were conditioned very early in their infancy to violence and murder; they were constantly reminded that a slur on the family honor had to be wiped off the record in blood. There is also the additional factor of mountain air and a more balanced if simpler diet which makes the Wuryāghlī physically stronger and tougher than the city or plains Arab; this is why he can stay out and plow his fields all day in a blistering August sun during Ramaḍān without bothering to stop for a siesta, and it is why he often landed a job as a construction worker or as a porter at the docks when he came to Tangier to find work after the drought of 1945. He is sober,

(24) Coon, 1951, p. 157.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

industrious, and an excellent farmer who has, with the primitive tools at his disposal, managed to raise the maximun possible number of crops on a very rocky and infertile soil.

It seems therefore possible that the city Arab's reaction to the tribesman from Aith Wuryāghil is born partly out of fear; the Wuryāghlī, in turn, has a low opinion of most Moroccan Arabs despite the fact that they gave him his religion. The most lasting impression which he makes on the outside observer is one of sturdy self-reliance and complete individualism coupled with extreme pugnacity. He follows the dictates of his culture to the letter, and, in the last analysis, it is only within the context of the patterns of that culture that he can be accurately judged.

181 Moreover, even though many jural details of life during the
178 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of
that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim
[42] in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on
[562] what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk,
who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segre-
[423] gated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one
[628] else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with
[554] the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud,
[464] which was once the dominant political institution of the society,
were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the
old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his
[464] mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until
1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons
in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration,
while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

181 The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Govern-
669 ment in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army
in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic in-
dication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apart-
ness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant
to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself
was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And
these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's
621 time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life
671 among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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PART I--MANUSCRIPT DATA ON RIFIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF RIFIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: ("LECTURE ON RIFIAN CUSTOMARY LAW"), uncompleted MSS., dated December 17-18, 1935.

101 671 A) General Introduction (fragmentary):.....The Berber area of Morocco, or Blad s-Siba, is the land of custom or of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area, or Blad l-Makhzin, which is the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law[1].....

181 1) Berber "virtues" (and Rifian ones) include: a) a zeal for independence; b) a spirit of association (twiza, wuzi'a, dhwara, liff[2]); c) a preference for "democratic" forms of government (councils, "oligarchical" institutions, etc.); and d) a respect for custom[3].

133 134 369 2) A slow descent from the mountains to the plain (what Blanco means here specifically is the relatively rich alluvial Plain of al-Husaima in the lowlands of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar), but without 369 urbanization...There is an indifference to "urban nuclei", which are only visited, and not lived in, except by Europeans. The Rifian's atmosphere is his tribe, and, even more so, his village or local community.

648 671 3) The basic French error in passing the Berber dahir of 1930 was in sending a European magistrate to supervise criminal law proceedings in Berber customary tribunals (in the Atlas Mountains only: translator's note), and this satisfied neither Berbers nor Arabs[4].

177 671 779 4) The Rifian embraced Islam and Berberized it in his "practices and superstitions" (my quotation marks: translator), as he

179 Berberizes, among other things, words, and the umbrella[5]...; and when
671 Koranic laws apply to him, he follows them only if they are compli-
779 mentary to his own custom; but, if there is a contradiction, it is
custom, and not the Shari'a, which is followed, and followed without
question.[6]

181 5) The author's expression of his personal sympathy for the Rifians: men who are "brave, loyal, hard-working, intelligent, modest, honorable, (long-)suffering, and austere."[7]

B) Introduction to Social Structure (fragmentary):

602 1) As an agricultural and warlike people, the social ties of
571 the Rifians are rudimentary[8] and become weaker as the number of individuals associated with them increase: thus, from family to tribe,
613 from village to region, there is a decrease in consistency. Strong in
621 "elemental" groupings like the agnatic lineage or the dharfiqth, which
619 units its members through blood ties[9], they lose rigidity although they are still precise and detailed in the jma'th (or local community)[10], and they become looser and more difficult to recognize in the upper-level groups, the dhaqbitsh[11] and its "fractions"[12], which nevertheless constitute the true "homeland" in North Africa, and are independent units[13].

571 2) The Rifian social organisms (i.e. units) are constituted
(602) by the associations between family (i.e. kin) groups which live together in the same territory, and thus have a localistic stamp which permits their evaluation in this manner. However, the institutions which constitute political groups do not have this character, as they are made up of elastic and complementary forms[14] which...retain

571 and orient a Rifian's activities and maintain...the safeguard of the interests which the community of his constituents does not guarantee him. While his social units are of a patriarchal, democratic and lay type, his political groupings are of a "military" type, true [562] alliances which join men together and not territories. While the social unit, minuscule as it is, has its proper jurisdiction over a territory and the people who live in it, whether men, women or children, linking together lands and families, the political unit only links individuals together, and these individuals are men only (author's italics)[15].

776 792 3) The "religious group"[16] satisfies the small (sic) spiritual needs of the rest of the Rifians and at the same time utilizes these needs for benefiting the tribe: they are the imrabdhen[17], who want to keep out of the Rifian's quarrels so that they can be effective mediators and arbitrators for him--and it satisfies the Rifian cult for the individual himself, and lends some distinction to his society, to which he never shows himself averse.

44 4) The "economic group"....is characterized in the Rif by markets, Jews[18], the twiza, wuzi's and dhwara, all of which suffice to fulfill the Rifian's principal needs, as much in terms of personal interests as in beneficial or humanitarian ones.

• 181 C) Family Organization:

1) Rifian society is an organized anarchy, with all the antagonisms and contradictions which are inherent in such a concept; and these may essentially be reduced to the "instinct of defense" and its derivative, the "spirit of association"[19].

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2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton[21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

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Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

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3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a

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conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced

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the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

562 anyone, not even their families, nor can they leave their house to work, visit or travel, attend feasts, markets[39] or saints' tombs, without previous authorization from their husbands, who tell them how long [593] [684] they may stay away from home. A man may correct his wife's faults in any way he wishes, and if she is guilty of adultery, he may kill her[40]. If he has more than one wife, he sleeps with each in turn.

571 e) Concept of Turns:—(The notion of "turns" and of "doing things in or by turn" is a cardinal one in Rifian society.) There are "turns" of gift-giving (r-ghramth) at weddings, of the allocation of power (political hegemonies of families and even of tribes), of (usage of irrigation) water, or corvees (twiza), of theft (dhukkardha), of vengeance or reprisal (ar-raqba[41]), for (taking barley to) the fqih, or harkas (war-parties or punitive expeditions), of pasturage (dhwara)[42], and even of plows and animals during plowing time (if, as often was the case during the "Republik", there was only one pair of animals in the community). Rifian society is, thus, a turn-based society, and the term nubth (pl. nubath), in Rifianized Arabic, is so widespread as to include the inhabitants of a village.[43]

571 559 The case may be cited of a restless ex-qa'id (tribal chief under the Spanish administration) who, desirous of returning to power, constantly pestered the administration with suggestions that he be [181] readmitted to office. As is logical and as a good Rifian, he wanted to be able to make a resounding exit, with his head held high, if he did not get the job. He wanted a responsible position in the regional government of the Territorio del Rif (in al-Husaima, then Villa Sanjurjo), and when he finally realized that his accusations

FOOTNOTES:

101 671 114 1--This interpretation of a major sociological conceptualization of Moroccan political history, the dissident Berber tribal area, the area of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area under government control where Muslim law was administered, conforms in all respects to the views of the majority of French observers, who label siba as "anarchy" (which, indeed, it literally means: "anarchy, abandon") and who often overlook the fact that the rural areas of the Blad al-Makhzin were also organized on a tribal basis.

101 671 114 113 648 A later definition by Carleton Coon holds that the Blad al-Makhzin, the land over which the power of the Moroccan Sultans extended, was a "land of order", while the Blad as-Siba, whose inhabitants recognized the Sultan's authority spiritually while denying it temporally, was a "land of insolence" (cf. Carleton S; Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, New York: Henry Holt, 1951, pp. 295-323). This definition, though linguistically inexact, attains a higher degree of sociological sophistication than the preceding one because of and despite the fact that it pushes the analogy a step further.

More recently, Ernest Gellner has defined siba as"institutionalized dissidence" and "marginal or dissident tribalism" (Saints of the Atlas, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 2-5), and in a review article of two books by Moroccans who seek to interpret various aspects of their country's history ("The Struggle for Morocco's Past", The Middle East Journal, XV, 1, 1961, pp. 79-90, a review of Abdelaziz Benabdallah, Les Grands Courants de la Civilisation du Maghreb, Rabat 1958, and Mohammed Lahbabi, Le Governement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle, Rabat 1958), he contrasts the traditional French view of the makhzin-siba dichotomy and a radically reinterpreted view advanced by Lahbabi in which "the same (Gellner's italics) facts, the existence of dissident areas, which were used by the French to illustrate the failure and impotence of Moroccan government are used...to provide the basis for a Consent (hence Anti-Absolutist) Theory of the Moroccan historic constitution." Thus the tribes on the shadowy borderland between the makhzin and siba spheres of influence were presented with a sort of Social Contract situation.

101 196 668 It must be noted that in the Rif the condition known elsewhere as siba was termed Ripublik, and that this not only has nothing to do with 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State" (Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya), but also predates it in time. A primary aim of the 'Rifian Republic", indeed, was to do away with the Ripublik.

181 104 2--Blanco does not define any of these terms at this point; he only does so later, in his MSS. chapter on Family Organization. All of them are loaded, as he hints, with institutional implications, and we propose to give here only thumbnail definitions for the reader's convenience. Twiza (Rifian dhiwiza) is perhaps best translated as "corvée", a group work project, generally organized for one day only, such as reparation of an irrigation ditch by those who use it, or voluntary assistance given by his neighbors to a man building a house, or, indeed, obligatory work of a communal nature (such as road repair) undertaken on behalf of the tribal notables or the government; this last, however, is usually termed rkwarfi (an Arabization and Rifianiza-

181 tion of French corvee), which underscores its mandatory character.
104 Wuzi'a, in Arabic, refers to distribution on a prorata basis; but its Rifian derivative, r-uzi'ath, refers only to the dividing up of the meat of a ritually edible and ritually slaughtered animal, which has just died, and those who share in the division are expected to pay the owner of the animal back at a later date. Dhwara, a purely Rifian word which Blanco mistakenly gives as twala, thinking it, no doubt, an Arabic derivative, is synonymous with Arabic nuba and its Rifian derivative nubth, means "turn" in its widest sense: use of irrigation water in turn by each user; taking of barley to the fiqh or schoolmaster in the local mosque by each nuclear family within the scattered hamlet type of community, so much the Rifian norm in settlement morphology, in turn, etc. etc. (cf. Blanco's own very interesting and elucidating remarks on the Rifian conceptualization of turns in the chapter on Family Organization). And liff is a crucially important intra- or inter-tribal pattern of alliances.

181 3--All words which are rendered in quotations are Blanco's, and in
114 no case does he define what he means by them. It should be noted here that Blanco, as well as the great majority of tribal administrators in French Morocco at the time, was heavily influenced by the thinking of the late Robert Montagne, Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930--to such an extent, in fact, that many of the "value judgments" which Blanco makes are indirectly those of Montagne. In all fairness to Blanco, however, it should be noted that he takes sharp exception to certain of Montagne's interpretations of Rifian political sociology; and these exceptions are for the most part fully justified.

608 4--Although the famous "Berber Dahir" of 1930 was enforced, of course,
607 by the French up until the very end of their protectorate in Morocco
608 in 1956, it never even had a chance in the Spanish Zone. This state of affairs was due not to any special decision-making on the part of the Spanish Protectorate administration (for much of the corps of tribal interventores was in favor of the dahir), but to the Rifian reformer 'Abd al-Krim, who had vigorously suppressed what he considered the most objectionable features of Customary Law in the Rif as early as 1921 or 1922. This was one of the ways, indeed, in which he was able to consolidate his position as leader of the Rifian war effort and as "President of the Rifian Republic", whereas, perhaps paradoxically, it is the pre-'Abd al-Krim era of "organized acephaly", of councillors and bloodfeuds, which is known, perhaps in retrospect as the 'Ripublik', and which is referred to elsewhere in Berber Morocco, and as a permanent condition, as siba. By the term "most objectionable features" we mean to say that he effectively stamped out any and all aspects of Rifian customary law (collective or plural oaths, in particular) which could in any outwardly discernible way be construed as being opposed to "bonafide" Muslim law. Thus, in short, what happened was at the end of the Rifian War in 1926, the Spaniards found that because of 'Abd al-Krim, orthodox Maliki law (for of the four Sunni, or "Orthodox", Islamic legal schools, it is the Maliki which predominates in North Africa) was already functioning in the Rif, even it overlay a solidly Berber jural base; and during their protectorate, though with some misgivings, they merely preserved 'Abd al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berbères et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

5--The umbrella (Rifian rndhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber-speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also conceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Iẓzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth.

10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may

arranged in spatial terms. The correspondence between a territorial system and a lineage system is always approximate, and sometimes, even, very close indeed, but it is, for a variety of reasons, never quite complete.

16--"Group" is hardly the right word to give to an institution or a socio-cultural category; but one can see that it was well intended and that Blanco was groping in the right direction. In most instances in which his choice of terms is obviously wrong, we have tried to rectify this by the substitution of other words which seem more nearly to fit the context.

17--Imrabdhen, sing. amrabidh (from Arabic murabit) are saints, living or dead, who, in the mind of the average Rifian, are often confused with shurfa, or descendants of the Prophet. The role of imrabdhen or shurfa as moderators in intra- or inter-tribal disputes is, indeed, perhaps the primary one which they (or some of them, for there are many who are functionally completely indistinguishable from ordinary tribesmen) play in Rifian society.

18--The role of Jews in the Rif is indeed a primarily economic one--they are jewelers and pack-saddle makers, and their social status is (or was, as there are none left there today) the humblest in the area, for they never carried arms and were always under the protection of a clan or lineage headman who, if necessary, would defend them to the death. In short, they were and are despised, but their services were needed. But why Blanco mentions them, an ethnic group, in the same breath with a series of economic institutions is a bit difficult to fathom.

19--As noted, the Rif formed an integral part of the blad as-siba, and Blanco's conceptualization of Rifian society as representing an "organized anarchy" may easily, in the traditionalist frame of reference, be extended to cover the whole notion of siba. In another publication we have already set forth our views on the usual French definition of this term, which goes back to Montagne, of siba as "anarchy", a notion which seems to us, in the last analysis, invalid, implying as it does a complete lack of government (cf. David M. Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, VI, 2, 1958, pp. 171-237). More recently, however (and a point which we overlooked in the abovementioned article), there has been a certain modification by at least one French scholar of this traditionally accepted viewpoint--cf. André Adam, La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, Vol. XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 30, and personal communication, 1959. This modification, in effect, concedes that anarchy within Berber society is an inapplicable term, but that it is still valid if the society is viewed from without, or from above, because the highest organizational or structural stage which Berbers have attained is that of the tribe only, never that of the nation-state. And if we read between the lines of Blanco's words, this, or something akin to it, is very probably what he had in mind when writing of "organized anarchy".

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114 However, we would still take a somewhat more charitable viewpoint, and question the somewhat ethnocentric notion that a tribal society is any more "anarchical", even in an "organized" sense, than that of a nation-state. In any event, all this terminology is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930).

000 20--Blanco uses the term ramo ascendiente, which, in the sense that a jajgu is conceived of as a branch (ramo)--the Rifians employ the term azwar, pl. izuran, "vein", in this connection--of a dharfiqth or or lineage group, is very apt. The use of a term such as "ascending", however, depends entirely on which way one looks at Rifian tribal segmentation: from the bottom up (nuclear family to tribe) or from the top down (tribe to family).

We have found, however, that, except in the single instance of the recitation of their own personal antecedents in unilinear progression to the ancestor who forms the "apex" of the lineage, Moroccan tribesmen invariably tend to give the segmentation of their own tribes starting from the top and working downwards. In the Rif, [631] indeed, this approach to the segmentary system is greatly reinforced [681] by the method of dividing up the fines (r-haqq) imposed upon murderers by the members of the tribal council. The division of such fines follows traditional segmentary lines as closely as possible; in such instances where this is not possible (and they are very few, only occurring in cases of territorial discontinuity among the larger lineages), it follows the next best thing, the territorial system, which is in essence nothing but the lineage system spread out spatially on the ground.

21--The term "canton" is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930), and is [634] also employed by Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African [114] Studies, vol. IX, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 91. It [113] is a valid enough designation for the watershed canyon, ravine and gorge-studded districts of the higher mountains in the Rif (Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen", in Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1956-1956, Vienna 1957, pp. 485-527, also employs the term Talschaften for similar districts in the Western Atlas), but loses its force if one attempts to apply it to the Plain of Alhusaima or the open rolling country of the Eastern Rif.

22--Khums (Rifian dhakhammasth) means "fifth", and is used only in the case of tribes which have five clans or maximal segments, such as the Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen (among whom, in fact, this alignment seems to have little functional significance), Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith Wurishik and Aith Sa'id. Furthermore, when it is said of any tribe that it "has five 'fifths'", this is an implicit admission that the tribe in question is a strong one. For a structural-functional analysis of the "fifth" among the Aith Waryaghar and elsewhere, see David M. Hart, "Segmentary Systems and the Role of 'Five Fifths' in Tribal Morocco", Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérrannée, III, 1, 1967, pp. 65-95.

Far more common in Rifian parlance, however, is ar-rba', pl. [114] rurbu', literally "fourth" or "quarter", which Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 91) has equated with "canton", and in doing so, has noted that,

695 F) Oaths (fragmentary):[35]

In most cases, it is not the plaintiff who must prove his pretensions or denunciations, but the accused, who has to justify himself if the complaint is false. There are cases in which the accused has [562] no defense, such as offenses against women, in which the notion of the latter as minors comes into play. If the accusation of a women against her assailant is sufficient to punish the latter[36], where does one find more protection for the woman? Perhaps the rigor in these matters and 695 839 the fear of accusation by jealous husbands or fear of reprisals have permitted to a certain extent crimes such as rape[36a], etc., which, if not frequent, are nonetheless common enough to have a sanction imposed upon them in defense of the common moral standard.

695 [671] [191] Means of Proof: Testimonies differ from those admitted by the Shari'a. In most cases testimony is invalid unless five members of the accused man's family (i.e. his agnates) are present to swear. They are 695 623 previously selected by him, but the jma'th, who know very well the men constitute its membership, can refuse to admit any of them that it wants [613] to[37]. In serious cases, ten members of the dharfiqth of the accused are required to take oath; they are, however, not chosen by the defendant himself, but by the jma'th, among (translator's italics) the members of his dharfiqth[38].

695 829 181 Thus, if oaths are permitted as means of proof, the number of cojurors varies according to the gravity of the offense; this provides a greater guarantee and shows in yet another way that Rifian society is not individual, but solid and familial; in its concept of collective responsibility, blame or sanctions attach to the group rather than to A, [This footnote was not included in the notes at the end of this section, p. 229--Analyst]

695 the individual, in most cases. It therefore seems natural that the
829 group rather than the individual (contrary to Islamic Law) proclaims
[181] its innocence[39].

695 Although written proofs are admitted, they are not common, and
212 are always submitted previously to a fqih for his consultation. Also,
[685] certain tulba were known to take advantage of their essentially notary function in order to falsify documents (one man even wrote up false Sultan's dahirs, or imperial decrees, and was jailed in Tangier!); and this did not make for any great respect of written proofs in Arabic, a language which in any case the Rifians did not understand.
[157] Even today (1935) a Rifian who possesses a document is always looking for people to translate it for him, as he is never satisfied with one man's word and always suspects that the man who drew it up for him either misrepresented him or lied to him. I have known Rifians who went to the French Zone and even to Spain in order to obtain proper interpretations of their personal papers! Only death will separate a Rifian from his r-kwaghadh![40]

695 Conciliation and arbitration are the preferential jural processes in this society, where victory is difficult and defeat is hard; and one is drawn to the idea that what actually takes place is more akin to "horse trading" than to justice, in the European sense of the word.

It seems to me that the collective oath is the Rifian equivalent of the European "word of honor", in its unadulterated sense[41]. It has
[619] a social rather than a religious significance, and, in practice, very little ritual; it is carried out in the mosque under the eye of the rival or plaintiff, and of those who were in on the secret, a sufficient action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]

695 [784] It was, and is, universally believed that anyone who perjured himself at oath would suffer dire consequence; either he, or some member of his family, or his livestock, would be struck dead or blind or dumb by God shortly thereafter, or, if not, that some other almost equally awesome calamity would befall him; and informants cited numerous examples. And: if either the accused or any of his cojurors failed to turn up at the mosque to take oath at the time stipulated (without a valid excuse for not doing so), it was the accused who had to pay the fine for whatever damages he had caused the plaintiff, as his non-appearance was sufficient proof of his guilt. The same was true if [184] [191] one or more of his prospective cojurors refused to swear with him; unlike in the Central Atlas, he could not obtain substitute cojurors, through sacrifice--the Rifian oath system was simpler and more inflexible. And if, of course, the plaintiff failed to show up, there was no oath at all. The accused or any of his cojurors could, however, be legitimately excused (as could the plaintiff) in the event that they had been unavoidably detained or prevented from appearing through illness, etc., in which case the oath was postponed until the following Friday or until such time as the individual in question was well enough to swear.

000 [114] 39--Here Blanco contradicts a previous assertion he made by saying that in this instance Islam and customary law are at one, and that the former puts the responsibility on the individual (which is true as far as oaths are concerned, but highly questionable in many other respects), while the latter puts it on the group!

[157] [181] 40--Blanco develops, and very amusingly, his ideas regarding the Rifian and his perennial mistrust (shimta walu, WALU CONFIANZA!) of his fellow man and of the world around him in a series of humorous papers (Analisis Espectral del Rifeño, Hospitalidad Rifeña, La Garrota Berberisca and Del Gesto en el Islam), all unpublished, which most unfortunately cannot be fitted into the framework of the present compilation.

[171] [577] [114] 41--This is very true; but only in part, for where the author's notion bogs down is in the simple fact that the European "word of honor" is essentially conceptualized as individual rather than collective. One may, to be sure, speak of a "national word of honor", among Europeans, but again this is personified individually through heads of state, etc. Thus, phenomenologically, the European "word of honor" and the Berber collective oath are two rather different kettle of fish, despite a certain parallelism in their objectives.

[114] 42--Blanco's meaning is not quite clear; but, if we understand him aright, why should the imqqranen have either depreciated the value of collective oaths or themselves be depreciated in turn for having to swear? If a defendant can legitimately get powerful and influential cojurors for himself, so much the better for him; but then again, in the Rif, an anghar, though respected by his own constituents, was considered no less bullet-proof than anyone else by his enemies....When Blanco refers to "those who were in on the secret", he presumably means "cojurors".

726 strength of those who were first on the spot, and so that the points which were most threatened could be easily and quickly reinforced. [182] [701] The dissemination of contingents was imposed by geographical factors (i.e. by the extreme poverty of an area which is excessively compartmented and rought country), by political ones (i.e. lack of a single head at the top of the chain of command other than individuals of purely local prestige, and a recruitment system which set limits on the employment of large units) and even by technical ones (i.e. the European notion of reducing the defense of fixed points of strategic interest, as well as in finding them, is difficult for Rifians to assimilate, for they themselves merely wait in their hilltop houses, etc.)[8].

C) Rifian Alliances (fragmentary):

619 628 181 [602] The Rif was a mosaic of independent tribes, gnawed at by internal disputes in an inhospitable land. It was a powder-keg of individual personalities who placated misfortunes with more misfortunes, with misery, envy and egotism; each one of these men were followed by minuscule groups of kinsmen and partisans, with no tie greater to oppose an invader than their own ambition and convenience....

619 There was in the Rif, however, a certain internal equilibrium by which small tribes like the Targist, Thafarsith and Aith Wurishik[9] could persist, even though surrounded by powerful neighbors.

619 616 [648] Alliances seem the logical and necessary step to which the Rifians had recourse when threatened by superior powers, such as that of the Sultans. The main significance of alliances lies in defense against a common danger, as well as in its concomitant, mutual aid;

619 but in the Rif, alliances were limited to the practical idea of the
616 defense of the Rifians' own interests, for neither their religion nor their political system nor any other abstract notion or value or in-
[181] stitution, great or small, was the cause. Islam, independence and security were the trinity to which the whole little Rifian world[10] administered its sacrament as only spiritual appetite, desire for coexistence in free and minuscule republican units[11], and security of
619 property and persons....The regular functioning of its structure, with
616 its trilateral organization of blood, family ties (marriage; jajgu or
182 branch; and dharfiqth or trunk[12]) and social units (jma'th, clan and dhaqbitsh) and institutions (communal and religious services[13], markets and qanun), could never have been justified alone, because the Rifians needed to take refuge in a complementary system of alliances, which they would do until another more powerful force from outside, such as a relatively strong and centralized Makhzin, succeeded in reducing such a function to smoldering embers.

Rifian alliances were thus the refuge of individuals or groups when the norms of coexistence were broken or when the danger of individual or group preponderance surged up within a social unit, threatening its equilibrium. The alliance which originated in the rivalries
616 between kin groups rose up to clan and even tribal levels, and in some
619 instances it could even spread beyond tribal borders to extend itself
[614] over the whole area. In this way the two great enemy groups of Sanhaja
616 and Ghumara came into being; and although they are to a large extent
619 confused recollections in the minds of old men[14], the latter also
648 bring to life, through their descriptions, the voracious conflagrations
173

villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

D) Political Organization:

1) The Individual Liff:--The liff is the union of individuals or groups of individuals in ways and means and towards ends to be discussed below....When one sees, over a period of time, two Rifians going together to markets, weddings and saints' tombs, as well as to each other's houses, and engaging in long and earnest conversations while sitting under a fig tree, etc., it is said that they, A and B, are not only imddukar (sing. amddukar), or friends, but that they are in liff; or rather, that A is in B's liff, if the latter has greater prestige.

The tie which unites these two individuals is not the same as one which might bind two Europeans together, for the bond between the latter may be that of affinity of ideas and interests, and in any case, both persons concerned have at the same time many other independent friendships. The European is both indefinite and free, but a Rifian cannot exist by himself. The European associate only shares a part of his freedom; a Rifian in analogous circumstances would enslave it all. A European can change his friendships, but a Rifian cannot abandon his liff mate if the latter is attacked. For, lacking any higher organization, would any warlike society, like that of the Rif, admit a disloyal person, a coward, a deserter or turncoat? And what, in a society so given to feuding, would an isolated or neutral individual be able to do?[19]....I suspect, indeed, that the celebrated hospitality of the Rifians and their faithfulness to the given word are not so much personality traits as simply results of their system of alliances[20].

195 181 628 "Now there is no law" was repeated in the humble dwellings perched upon the heights; and soon the Rifian mountains regained their harsh, untranquil and agitated life, the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance spreading again over the slopes through the cries of victims and the echo of gunshots.

628 613 619 134 But the instinct of self-preservation again prevailed, first with pacts like the above, allying small lineages, and afterwards with pacts which, as will be shown later, forced whole tribes into more or less long pauses, during which they took a breathing spell in their rude and savage struggle for existence, which was complicated to an extraordinary degree by a poor and ungrateful soil.

443 182 The reader will appreciate the importance which the market has in Rifian society, for it is not just a simple place of weekly commerce.....

443 671 182 [648] The market in Rifian society is the preferential institution, the role of which, in my opinion, has today (1939) been partly absorbed by the Office of Native Affairs[14] and by the mahkamas or tribunals where the law can be laughed at much more easily than it can be in the market, under a carob tree in full view of all, the market to which the Rifians are so addicted and about which the qudat (pl. of qadi) are so refractory, the market which is today free of all control, including that of its constituents, the most efficacious control of all.[15]

443 671 That the market, among Rifians, was the temple of law, of Parliament....is proven by the fact that in all markets laws were made through pacts, referenda and proclamations; and these unfortunately lack sanction through official publication. In it public affairs of general

621 which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most
613
554 influential and respected members of the community. Without any
[182] presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

671 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the
621 community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all
181 the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its representatives. For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and
792
621 public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting;
692
554 they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the
792 road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or
621 capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw
692
212 it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement
671 and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that
527 time to this, it is public feasting as subject for all the commentaries
521
571 in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques), such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the harvests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

671 Paragraph e: This paragraph distinguishes principals from accomplices or auxiliaries.

671 181 Paragraph f: A virile and rural society distrusts the veracity of the so-called humanitarian sentiments, closing its doors to the intrigues which, under such a mask, provoke influential individuals to save their allies and other interested aspirations which mock the objectives that the law, to which they freely gave themselves, pursues.

671 609 628 Paragraph g: We have here a precise and exact detail, an excellent delimitation of a truce, a recognition of Rifian public law (i.e. jural procedure) and interest protecting the stranger, to whom this law guarantees a wide and sufficient time of commercial activity and a prudent warning that he leave an open field to the fierce internal bloodfeuding. We have here a manifestation of the social unit, the clan, which shows us its reality and consistency, which recognizes a common interest and one superior to its own intestinal vendettas; and this permits it to guarantee to the neutral, to the stranger, a free passage and activity throughout its whole territory (author's italics).

671 695 Paragraph h: Two important additions are made here to the hurried first draft. It is necessary, first, to guarantee the person of the accused against the passions of the moment, the outward appearances, the ill-will and the outright suspicions, by means of evident proof (author's italics), offering him the means of avoiding such passions by taking oath. And in the second addendum (Paragraph i) they list, furthermore, and completing it, the duration of the truce or time of peace.

sought to remedy them.

This qanun, from a social standpoint, shows certain differences from the others. We may appreciate, for example, in these men of the Mediterranean coast their greater contact with European civilization, how they struggle to rise from the mass, emerging from the anonymity in which the ritual words "adults and minors" are apt to encircle them, from these words which in many qanuns designate those who attend their council meetings, from which there only stands out in any decorative fashion some religious individual (i.e. a sharif or murabit), which was more in conformity with their communistic (sic!) society. In the same manner as today, the city dweller wishes to rise from the rural mass, holding on with doubtful pleasure to the easy means of using shoes, visiting cards, gloves, tombstones and cigarettes, in the European style. The city dweller, by the mere fact of lengthening his jillab[71] and putting on shoes, if not sneakers[72], considers himself on a higher level than his rural fellow-countrymen, although his mentality is analogous and his virtues inferior.

The countryman has an opinion of the European which borders on indifference, as he neither feels cravings to imitate him nor ape his manner. The city dweller envies the European, and for this reason he imitates him and hates him.

Thus the vivacious city dwellers, when they wish to gain the sympathy of their fellow countrymen and, on being forced to intern themselves in the country[73], try to imitate the latter ostentatiously[74] .....although this by no means lets them succeed in escaping the ironic judgments of these astute countrymen.

671 554 Abundant in these ideas, we may observe how in the first lines of the qanun some names are adorned with the honorific titles of shaikh and even qa'id, titles which fit the members of this society as well as two pistols do a saint, for not only did they not realize nor did anyone admit the roles which in Arabic correspond to such titles, but, as can be appreciated, the nominal qa'id (i.e. Sayyid Bu Bakr bin Muhammad Ushshan) does not occupy the first place, which he not only had to yield to the opulent and considerable Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, but to crouch behind another, second shaikh, 'Ali Azarqan, and we finally discover him in third place modestly lost among the notables: the adults (author's italics), with this single, authentic and legitimate representation: that of his lineage (family group) or dharfidth, and all the rest of the social group or jma'th.

It may be observed that this is the only qanun in which the imaginary personage of the qa'id is expressly stated; his title and role are as unreal as all other Arab ones in the Rif, whether they be called bu mwarith, ukil l-ghuyab, shiyukh, mqaddimin and even qudat (pl. of qadi). These people did not look toward Fez nor toward the circumference of the Rif, but toward its center, toward the interior, toward their villages. There was no power other than the assembly, the agraw[75], the council of elders. For this reason Rifian society.... could have previously been considered concentric.[76]

181 614 121

671 554 693 We may also see the coincidence that this qanun, the only one in which the term qa'id appears, is also the only one which contains that of amghar among the last names (ninth to last) as well as that of ra'is[77], and it reveals to us how the tulba of the Aith Waryaghar, who

000 the proportion, in context, of the fines.

671 There are no offenses against the form of government, nor
687 against religion; more aptly put, there is no need to invent such
688 offenses, nor, by the same token, any punishment for them, because
184 all are agreed in such questions: republic and Islam.

184 This unanimity of opinion among the different groups of legis-
614 lators in the diverse clans of the tribe proves to us their (relative)
619 independence, and this is one of the ties which gives the tribe its
671 form.[81] It is clear that if individuals and families respond to a
602 private common law, the associations of these kin groups, the (uni-
linear) principles which link them together, and their common law
could not be very different, given their proximity (i.e. to each other).

691 These qanuns, which are the most outstanding signs of the
614 rudimentary (sic) common or public law of the Rifians, reveal to us
and define better than any other consideration (i.e. aspect of Rifian
life, or institution) the reality and importance of that social unit,
the clan, both a truly independent state and the ancient fatherland
(patria) of the Rifian; and the whole of this, the ensemble[82], explains
the Rifians' capacity for resistance in the struggle against any in-
vader through the multiple compartmented monopolies (i.e. clans), each
of which was opposed to the other, at the same time as it showed im-
potence and weakness to the outside (world).

671 These lay and democratic laws, full of suggestions, show the
619 Rif to be a land of custom, forming, as Montagne shows so clearly for
181 other Berber groups[83], a mosaic of minute independent republics, in
opposition to the Moroccan Empire, with its rigid sharifian organiza-
tion and administrative framework of qa'ids; for the qa'id is, as we

have just said, a personage who does not show up in any qanun as discharging his office or as even providing the most minimal and non-transcendent representation, for in the one qanun in which we finally discover him (the qanun commented upon here) we have already shown that he hides himself modestly and even effacingly behind the camouflage of two other shiyukh. The result is that not even in the big list, in the listing of "the fat ones" (i.e. the enumeration of the clan brothers of each of the imagharen of importance), does this ambitious man gain first prize, the individual who seizes this being an opulent and lay tribesman whose preeminence clearly gives a clue to the psychology of the talib who drafted the qanun as well as to that of his constituents.

And, reflecting upon bases like these, it is well to ask what reasons or exigencies the first protectorate functionaries felt, discounting both imitative and ignorant ones in order to orient their policies toward big qa'ids who, even if their stature has been diminished, are no longer to be seen for sure anywhere.

To impose upon the tribes more or less significant personalities, representatives of concentrated power, when, subdivided ad infinitum, they unite in their opposition to all types of personal power, is always an ungrateful undertaking and one full of surprises, as practice has shown us....when power is imposed from above.[84]

In the Rif, where all are personalities, only a mass-oriented political system, and not one oriented toward individuals, can bear fruit.[85] The enforced utilization of one or even several dozen persons of some importance serves no purpose if this does not benefit the mass, taking up its aspirations and satisfying its needs, anxious for freedom

181
167 They were too good and honorable to see themselves die out, with no fear other than that of the market announcement and without guards of any sort, on a most miserable land, which their way of life made habitable only through emigration[92] and epidemics taking care of the surplus population.

Clearly, bound to necessity, it incited the envy of more than one individual, considering the very slight severity of the punishment, the possibility of concealing the offense and the difficulty of proof, for which reason the people took refuge in traveling to places unknown to them on days which were not market days, without taking natural precautions.

671
685 The qanun of the Aith Siddat shows us, in notation (c), the offense of house-breaking, with a concise and admirable clarity; it recognizes for the owner of the house the right of violent opposition, a previous guarantee to the society that neither a difference of opinion nor known resentment shall mediate between them.

671
682 By the same token, notation (b) indicates and punishes the accomplice with the same penalty in offenses in which blood is drawn as does notation (k) with 50 mithqals in the rest of the cases.

And finally, in notation (d), the right of legitimate defense is established without the slightest doubt.

671
562 If in each one of the qanuns in this volume it is easy to discover its characteristics and, knowing the region, to find out what each one conceals, to explain what it says and the reasons which it gives for doing so, we must point out, in the present qanun, the interest which the Aith Siddat maintained in enforcing public respect

92--The reference here is primarily to Rifian labor migration in Algeria.

312
571 calls out the order of the turns by picking at random each one of the straws from the place in which they were deposited.[121]

E) Use of Rivers

312
675 River waters are submitted, in general, to the same considerations as mentioned above. Their free utilization by owners of riverain land has no stipulation other than that of respecting the preferential rights of upstream lands and of avoiding damage to irrigation work
• [181] which has already been done. The jursidiction of the riverain people does not extend to the middle of the river-bed, for, as the latter often channels out new and diverse courses due to the torrential regimen of these water-courses which undergo constant variation and subsequent modification of their banks, this would give rise to infinite incidents and frequent modifications of agreements; and all of this would be contrary to the Rifian character, essentially conservative and traditionalist.....There is also another important reason for
[648] [619] understanding why this is so, this being that these long-distance water-courses cross the territories of different tribes, ones which are even independent among themselves (and certainly from each other!); and in the event that any agreements at all have been reached about water distribution, these would have been extremely difficult to fulfill and would no doubt have originated not a few fratricidal wars and augmented the already numerous points of friction.

423
675 Any other form of action would have been incompatible with the
312 essence of (the social behavior of) this society at the moment in which we are studying it, in which tribe, its clans and smaller segments all have such possessive notions of the property on their territories

181 423 The Rifian admits anything which constitutes instruction or improvement; but naturally he wants no part of any division of his 312 648 holdings with strangers. This blessing of water which the official organ (i.e. the Spanish administration) as well as individuals receive, although the latter do so only to a limited degree, is not a product of technique, profitable or exemplary work as new developments would be, possible economic outlets or improvements in the present distributive net, but utilization of native labor in the style of some early-day amghar.

312 675 685 [427] Rare are the days of the Makhzin irrigation turn in which the Mkhazniya does not present us (i.e. the administration) with some miserable akhammas[123] accused of the terrible crime of having been surprised at night attempting to lead up a thread of water into his tiny, dried-up holding, a crystalline fiber which, if it even arrives there to irrigate, only God knows; and the nubth which the Europeans derive from it, dispute from it and gain from it, did not cost them the least effort to lead up nor did they do anything other than wait sitting down while the Makhzin appropriated it. And in such a case neither the Makhzin nor the European stands to gain anything; to the contrary, they have much to lose.

F) Irrigation in the Plain of Al-Husaima:

312 675 The usage of irrigation water from the Lower Ghis and Nkur Rivers has been, since time immemorial, the object of individual agreements among the irrigators, agreements which are usually put down in writing, for the flow of water, although variable, permits a regular distribution through permanent ditches, a distribution known

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--The term used by Blanco is "compenetración".

[128] 2--Blanco's sentence construction is often long and involved; literal translation into English does not generally do it justice, and we have had to take certain liberties.

671 829 609 648 3--In nearly five years in the Rif, we only met three Spaniards (none of whom was a tribal administrator) who spoke Rifian really well; and on countless occasions Rifians told me, "You, an American, have only been here among us for two (or three, or four, etc.) years, and you speak our language very well; the Spaniards have been here for forty years and have never made the effort to understand a word of it!" Statements of this kind show how clearly the two communities remained 648 apart from one another; and they also show, more obliquely, how deficient the linguistic and sociological training of Spanish officers in Morocco was, particularly in comparison with their French counterparts. In the French Zone, it was virtually a sine qua non that an officer who was scheduled to administer a Berber tribe be able to speak the language fluently. In the Spanish Zone, this was not so; and even the number of administrators who could speak Moroccan Arabic properly was small.

000 [177] 4--Only in a manner of speaking. Resistance to cultural change may seem to be outstanding in the Rif; but if one should compare the Rif with, for example, the Central Atlas at the present day, the former immediately emerges as far the more "acculturated" of the two areas. The reasons for this, furthermore, are not far to seek: greater accessibility, the Arabization tactics of 'Abd al-Krim, and longer contact with Europeans. Rifian hardheadedness and distrust of outsiders are perhaps unique even in Morocco, however, and the result on [181] [609] the level of acceptance or rejection of outside ways has thus been to a considerable extent a matter of the Rifians' own choice; and this is probably what Blanco means.

It is hardly necessary to point out that Rifians do not constitute a "race".

[114] 5--This is a Spanish attempt to penetrate a Berber mode of thought behind an Arabic turn of phrase; and it is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Blanco knew neither language well, if at all.

6--This seems a Rousseau-esque yearning for, one might say, the jural "simplicity" of the Rif as opposed to the "institutional and legal complexity" of Europe!

[114] 7--Blanco wrongly spells this word islifen.

8--The injection of both patriotism (and/or chauvinism) and value judgments into a work of this sort is something which neither Spanish nor French tribal administrators in Morocco seemed to be able to get [114] away from. More suspect, however, is perhaps Blanco's wish that Rifian law be treated by qualified professional jurists--José María Paniagua y Santos (op. cit., 1948 and 1950) did just this, and the results were a complete fiasco; at least in terms of usefulness of the materials to anthropologists.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

105 is not keyed to profit for the sake of capital accumulation or
43 reinvestment for expansion but rather to provide resources to
182 meet these needs. Motives for exchanges, transfers, consumption,
[152] etc. are based on 1) social obligations, 2) anticipation of spiritual or social reward, and 3) ritually prescribed ceremonies. These motives provide the dynamics of the internal economic
105 system. While there are markets in the Rif, the economy itself
443 is not integrated by the market. It is a society which Bohannan
182 and Dalton would characterize as consisting of "Communities with
[181] peripheral markets--that is, the institution of the market place is present, but the market principle does not determine acquisition of subsistence or the allocation of land and labor resources" (1965:5). Of course, this does not mean that markets are unimportant in the society. The market is an institutionalized way of bringing buyers and sellers together and redistributing resources. As such it merits our attention as much as non-market transactions. Yet it is organizationally distinct from our own economy in which "All goods and services, including the use of labor, land and capital are available for purchase in markets and have, therefore, a price; all forms of income derive from the sale of goods and services--wages, rent and interest, respectively, appearing only as different instances of price according to the items sold" (Polanyi 1957:247). In the Rif the market acts as only one, and not necessarily the most predominant, focal point for exchanges. Only by exploring the com-
[114] plete range of exchanges can we avoid the sort of ethnographic